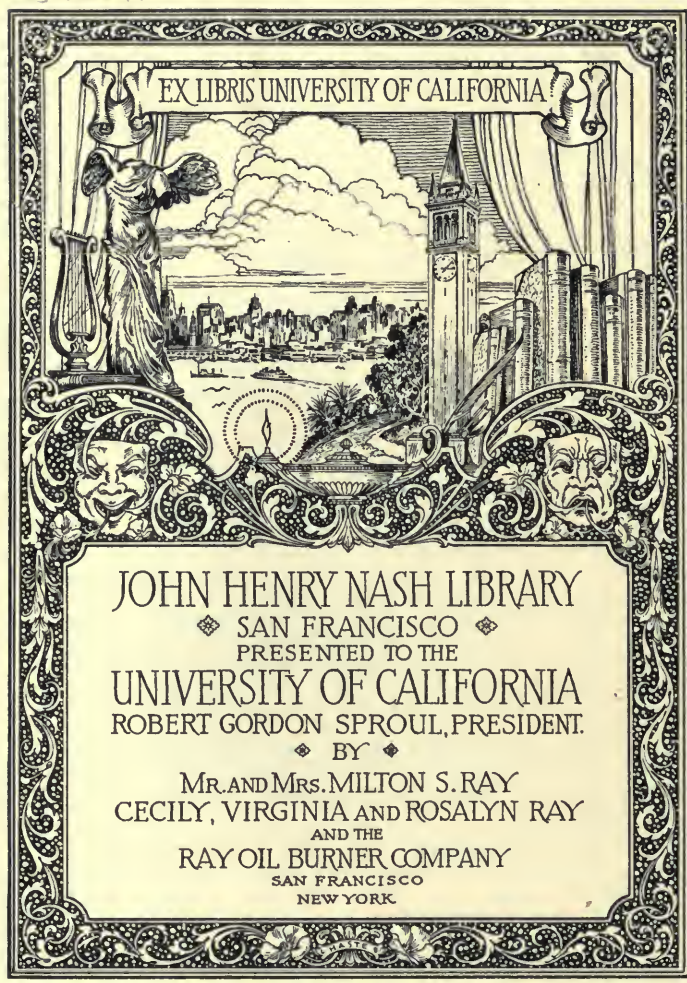




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A Splendid
"HYDRIOTAPHIA"

LOVERS of the rare quality of the work of Sir Thomas Browne are under the greatest obligation to Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., for the splendid edition of "Hydriotaphia or Urne-Buriall" which they have issued. This essay is one of Browne's most characteristic and delightful ones. One need only remark that it contains such passages as those beginning "The iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy;" "What song the Syrens sang or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women;" and "Man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes." The new edition is a small quarto of sixty pages, on unbleached, handmade paper, with reference notes in the broad margins, as in the original edition — which, in many respects, this one resembles. The title-page has a border engraved on wood by M. Lamont Brown, and the binding is sumptuous crimson leather stamped in gold. The edition consists of 385 numbered copies.

"TIMES," N. Y.

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Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and the texture of the paper. Some words are difficult to decipher, but the overall structure appears to be a list or a series of entries. The text is written in a cursive or semi-cursive script. The first few lines are more legible than the others. The text is written in dark ink on a light brown, aged paper. The handwriting is somewhat slanted and compact. The text is arranged in a single column, filling most of the page area. The ink is slightly faded, especially in the middle and lower sections. The paper shows signs of age, including some discoloration and a slightly rough texture. The overall appearance is that of an old, handwritten document or notebook page.

HYDRIOTAPHIA

Urne-Buriall

OR

*A Discourse of the Sepulchrall Urnes
lately found in Norfolk*

By SIR THOMAS BROWNE, D. of Physick



CAMBRIDGE

THE RIVERSIDE PRESS EDITION

1907

Urne-Buriall

SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S *Hydriotaphia*, or *Urne-Buriall*, is now offered to lovers of choice books in a *Riverside Press Edition* of especial appropriateness and beauty.

Though perhaps less well known than his *Religio Medici*, Browne's *Urne-Buriall* has long been regarded by the best critics as his finest and most individual work and the one most sure to hold its place among the enduring masterpieces of classic English prose. "That wonderful book," Walter Pater called it; and it drew from Charles Lamb this characteristic appreciation:

"I wonder and admire his entireness in every subject that is before him. He follows it, he never wanders from it, and he has no occasion to wander; for whatever happens to be the subject, he metamorphoses all nature into it. In the treatise on some urns dug up in Norfolk, how earthy, how redolent of graves and sepulchres is every line! You have now dark mould, now a thigh-bone, now a skull, then a bit of mouldered coffin, a fragment of an old tombstone with moss in its 'Hic Jacet,' a ghost, or a winding-sheet, or the echo of a funeral psalm wafted on a November wind; and the gayest thing you shall meet with shall be a silver nail or a gilt 'Anno Domini,' from a perished coffin-top."

The text of the rare first edition will be reproduced with a few deviations in the direction of a uniformity of spelling and punctuation, thus correcting a number of errors which have crept into later issues.

The format has been subtly contrived to suggest at once the look of its XVIIth Century original and something of the peculiar flavor of its contents. In size the volume is a small quarto of about sixty pages, set in Brimmer type with reference notes in the margins, as in the original edition. It is printed on unbleached, hand-made paper with the usual care given to the press-work of the Riverside Press Editions. The title is within a border engraved on wood by M. Lamont Brown, after a beautiful and interesting old English design. It is emblematic of the subject and contains the Author's arms.

In binding a departure has been made from the Publishers' custom of issuing these books in unpretentious covers. In this instance an attractive crimson leather has been selected to carry a reproduction of a beautiful and elaborate English binding of the early XIXth Century, appropriate in its details to the contents of the volume. Stamped in gold on both covers, the effect is remarkably rich and pleasing.

The edition consists of three hundred and eighty-five numbered copies, of which three hundred and fifty are offered for sale, the price being \$7.50 net a copy; prepaid. A sample page of the text is shown herewith.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY.

85 *Fifth Avenue, New York.*

*In the Psalme of
Moses.

†According to the
ancient Arithmetick
of the hand wherein
the little finger of
the right hand
contracted, signified
an hundred.

Pierus in
Hieroglyph.

‡One night as long as
three.

§The puzzling ques-
tions of Tiberius unto
Grammarians Marcel.
Donatus in Suet.

||Κλυτὰ ἔθνεα νεκρῶν.

composition ; we live with death, and die not in a moment. How many pulses made up the life of *Methuselah*, were work for *Archimedes* : Common Counters sum up the life of *Moses* his name.* Our dayes become considerable like petty sums by minute accumulations ; where numerous fractions make up but small round numbers ; and our dayes of a span long make not one little finger.†

If the nearnesse of our last necessity, brought a nearer conformity unto it, there were a happinesse in hoary hairs, and no calamity in half senses. But the long habit of living indisposeth us for dying, when Avarice makes us the sport of death, when *David* grew politickly cruel, and *Solomon* could hardly be said to be the wisest of men. But many are too early old, and before the date of age. Adversity stretcheth our dayes, misery makes *Alcmena's* nights,‡ and time hath no wings unto it. But the most tedious being is that which can unwish it self, content to be nothing, or never to have been, which was beyond the mal-content of *Job*, who cursed not the day of his life, but his nativity, content to have so far been, as to have a title to future being, although he had lived here but in an hidden state of life, and as it were an abortion.

What Song the *Syrens* sang, or what name *Achilles* assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions,§ are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these Ossuaries entered the famous Nations of the dead,|| and slept with Princes and Counsellors, might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietaries of

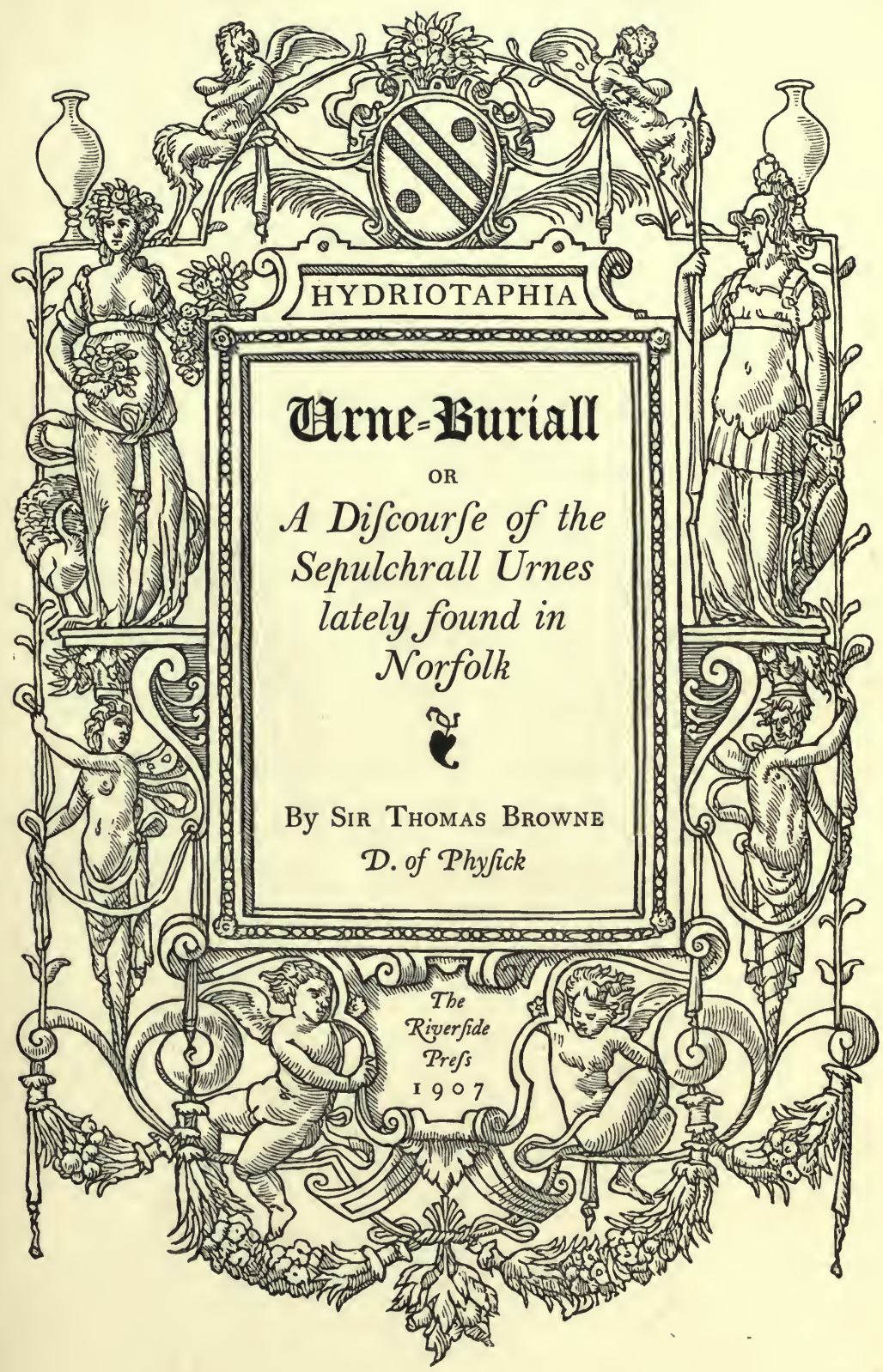


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HYDRIOTAPHIA
OR
URNE-BURIALL



HYDRIOTAPHIA

Urne-Buriall

OR

*A Discourse of the
Sepulchrall Urnes
lately found in
Norfolk*



By SIR THOMAS BROWNE
D. of Physick

*The
Riverside
Press
1907*

NOTE

This edition of the Hydriotaphia reproduces the text of the first edition printed in 1658. Several errors which have crept into later issues have thus been rectified. The archaic spelling of the first edition has been retained save for a few deviations toward uniformity. The erratic punctuation of the original issue has been slightly modified, though due regard has been paid to Browne's peculiar use of the semicolon.

TO MY

Worthy and Honoured Friend

THOMAS LE GROS

of CROSTWICK, Esquire

WHEN the Funeral pyre was out, and the last valediction over, men took a lasting adieu of their interred Friends, little expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment upon their ashes, and having no old experience of the duration of their Reliques, held no opinion of such after-considerations.

But who knows the fate of his bones, or how often he is to be buried? who hath the Oracle of his ashes, or whether they are to be scattered? The Reliques of many lie like the ruins of Pompey's,* in all parts of the earth; and when they arrive at your hands, these may seem to have wandered farre, who in a direct † and Meridian Travell, have but few miles of known Earth between your selfe and the Pole.

That the bones of Theseus should be seen again ‡ in Athens, was not beyond conjecture, and hopeful expectation; but that these should arise so opportunely to serve your self, was an hit of fate and honour beyond prediction.

We cannot but wish these Urnes might have the effect of

**Pompeios juvenes Asia, atque Europa, sed ipsum terra tegit Lybyos.*

†*Little directly, but Sea between your house and Greenland.*

‡*Brought back by Cimon. Plutarch.*

**The great Urnes in the Hippodrome at Rome conceived to resound the voices of people at their shows.*

†Worthily possessed by that true Gentleman Sir Horatio Townshend my honoured Friend.

‡Abiit ad plures.

§Which makes the world so many years old.

theatrical vessels, and great Hippodrome Urnes in Rome; to resound the acclamations and honour due unto you. But these are sad and sepulchral Pitchers, which have no joyful voices; silently expressing old mortality, the ruins of forgotten times, and can only speak with life, how long in this corruptible frame, some parts may be uncorrupted; yet able to out-last bones long unborn, and noblest pyle† among us.*

We present not these as any strange sight or spectacle unknown to your eyes, who have beheld the best of Urnes, and noblest variety of Ashes; who are your self no slender master of Antiquities, and can daily command the view of so many Imperial faces; which raiseth your thoughts unto old things, and consideration of times before you, when even living men were Antiquities; when the living might exceed the dead, and to depart this world, could not be properly said to go unto the greater number.‡ And so run up your thoughts upon the ancient of dayes, the Antiquaries truest object, unto whom the eldest parcels are young, and earth it self an Infant; and without Ægyptian account§ makes but small noise in thousands.

We were hinted by the occasion, not caught the opportunity to write of old things, or intrude upon the Antiquary. We are coldly drawn unto discourses of Antiquities, who have scarce time before us to comprehend new things, or make out learned Novelties. But seeing they arose as they lay, almost in silence among us, at least in short account suddenly passed over, we were very unwilling they should die again, and be buried twice among us.

Beside, to preserve the living, and make the dead to live, to

keep men out of their Urnes, and discourse of humane fragments in them, is not impertinent unto our profession ; whose study is life and death, who daily behold examples of mortality, and of all men least need artificial mementos, or coffins by our bed side, to minde us of our graves.

'Tis time to observe Occurrences, and let nothing remarkable escape us ; The Supinity of elder dayes hath left so much in silence, or time hath so martyred the Records, that the most industrious * heads do finde no easie work to erect a new Britannia.

**Wherein M. Dugdale hath excellently well endeavoured, and worthy to be countenanced by ingenious and noble persons.*

'Tis opportune to look back upon old times, and contemplate our Fore-fathers. Great examples grow thin, and to be fetched from the passed world. Simplicity flies away, and iniquity comes at long strides upon us. We have enough to do to make up ourselves from present and passed times, and the whole stage of things scarce serveth for our instruction. A compleat peece of vertue must be made up from the Centos of all ages, as all the beauties of Greece could make but one handsome Venus.

When the bones of King Arthur were digged up, † the old Race might think they beheld therein some Originals of themselves ; unto these of our Urnes none here can pretend relation, and can only behold the Reliques of those persons, who in their life giving the Laws unto their predecessors, after long obscurity, now lye at their mercies. But remembering the early civility they brought upon these Countreys, and forgetting long passed mischiefs, we mercifully preserve their bones, and pisse not upon their ashes.

† In the time of Henry the second. Camden.

In the offer of these Antiquities we drive not at ancient

Families, so long out-lasting by them ; We are farre from erecting your worth upon the pillars of your Fore-fathers, whose merits you illustrate. We honour your old Virtues, conformable unto times before you, which are the Noblest Armoury. And having long experience of your friendly conversation, void of empty Formality, full of freedome, constant and Generous Honesty, I look upon you as a Gemme of the Old Rock, and must professe my self even to Urne and Ashes,*

Your ever faithful Friend,

and Servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

NORWICH, May 1.

**Adamas de rupe veteri præstantissimus.*

URNE-BURIALL



Urne-Buriall

CHAPTER I

IN the deep discovery of the Subterranean world, a shallow part would satisfie some enquirers, who, if two or three yards were open about the surface, would not care to wrack the bowels of *Potosi*,* and regions towards the Centre. Nature hath furnished one part of the Earth, and man another. The treasures of time lie high, in Urnes, Coynes, and Monuments, scarce below the roots of some vegetables. Time hath endlesse rarities, and shoves of all varieties; which reveals old things in heaven, makes new discoveries in earth, and even earth it self a discovery. That great antiquity *America* lay buried for a thousand years; and a large part of the earth is still in the Urne unto us.

**The rich mountain of Peru.*

Though if *Adam* were made out of an extract of the earth, all parts might challenge a restitution, yet few have returned their bones far lower than they might receive them, not affecting the graves of Giants under hilly and heavy coverings, but content with lesse then their own depth, have wished their bones might lie soft, and the earth be light upon them. Even such as hope to rise again, would

not be content with central interment, or so desperately to place their reliques as to lie beyond discovery, and in no way to be seen again ; which happy contrivance hath made communication with our fore-fathers, and left unto our view some parts, which they never beheld themselves.

Though earth hath engrossed the name yet water hath proved the smartest grave ; which in fourty dayes swallowed almost mankinde, and the living creation ; fishes not wholly escaping, except the salt Ocean were handsomely contempered by a mixture of the fresh Element.

Many have taken voluminous pains to determine the state of the soul upon disunion ; but men have been most phantastical in the singular contrivances of their corporal dissolution : whilst the soberest Nations have rested in two wayes, of simple inhumation and burning.

That carnal interment or burying was of the elder date, the old examples of *Abraham* and the Patriarches are sufficient to illustrate, and were without competition, if it could be made out, that *Adam* was buried near to *Damascus*, or Mount *Calvary*, according to some Tradition, God himself that buried but one, was pleased to make choice of this way, collectible from Scripture-expression, and the hot contest between Satan and the Arch-Angel, about discovering the body of *Moses*. But the practice of burning was also of great Antiquity, and of no slender extent. For (not to derive the fame from *Hercules*) noble descriptions there are hereof in the *Grecian* Funeral of *Homer*, in the formal Obsequies of *Patroclus*, and *Achilles* ; and somewhat elder in the *Theban*

war, and solemn combustion of *Meneceus*, and *Archemorus*, contemporary unto *Jair* the Eighth Judge of *Israel*. Confirmable also among the *Trojans*, from the Funeral Pyre of *Hector*, burnt before the gates of *Troy*,* and the burning of *Penthesilea* the *Amazonian* Queen, and long continuance of that practice in the inward Countries of *Asia*; while as low as the Reign of *Julian*, we finde that the King of *Chionia*† burnt the body of his Son, and interred the ashes in a silver Urne.

The same practice extended also far West,‡ and besides *Herulians*, *Getes*, and *Thracians*, was in use with most of the *Celtæ*, *Sarmatians*, *Germans*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Norwegians*; not to omit some use thereof among *Carthaginians* and *Americans*: of greater antiquity among the *Romanes* then most opinion, or *Pliny* seems to allow. For (beside the old Table Laws of burning§ or burying within the City, of making the Funeral fire with plained wood, or quenching the fire with wine) *Manlius* the Consul burnt the body of his son; *Numa* by special clause of his will, was not burnt but buried; And *Remus* was solemnly buried, according to the description of *Ovid*.||

Cornelius Sylla was not the first whose body was burned in *Rome*, but of the *Cornelian* Family, which being indifferently, not frequently used before, from that time spread and became the prevalent practice. Not totally pursued in the highest run of Cremation; For when even crows were funerally burnt, *Poppæa* the wife of *Nero* found a peculiar grave interment. Now as all customs were founded upon

*2. *Calaber*, lib. 1.

† *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Gumbates King of *Chionia* a Countrey near *Persia*.

‡ *Arnold. Montan. not. in Cæs. Commentar. L. L. Gyraldus. Kirkmannus.*

§ 12 *Tabul. part. 1, de jure sacro. Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito, tom. 2. Rogum asciâ ne polito. to. 4. Item Vigeneri Annotat. in Livium, & Alex. cum Tiraquello. Roscinus cum Dempstero.*

|| *Ultima prolato subdita flamma rogo. De Fast. lib. 4 cum Car. Neapol. Anaptyxi.*

some bottom of Reason, so there wanted not grounds for this, according to several apprehensions of the most rational dissolution. Some being of the opinion of *Thales*, that water was the original of all things, thought it most equal to submit unto the principle of putrefaction, and conclude in a moist relentment. Others conceived it most natural to end in fire, as due unto the master principle in the composition, according to the doctrine of *Heraclitus*. And therefore heaped up large piles, more actively to waft them toward that Element, whereby they also declined a visible degeneration into worms, and left a lasting parcel of their composition.

Some apprehended a purifying virtue in fire, refining the grosser commixture, and firing out the *Æthereal* particles so deeply immersed in it. And such as by tradition or rational conjecture held any hint of the final pyre of all things; or that this Element at last must be too hard for all the rest; might conceive most naturally of the fiery dissolution. Others pretending no natural grounds, politickly declined the malice of enemies upon their buried bodies. Which consideration led *Sylla* unto this practice; who having thus served the body of *Marius*, could not but fear a retaliation upon his own; entertained after in the Civil wars, and revengeful contentions of *Rome*.

But as many Nations embraced, and many left it indifferent, so others too much affected, or strictly declined this practice. The *Indian Brachmans* seemed too great friends unto fire, who burnt themselves alive, and thought it the

noblest way to end their dayes in fire ; according to the expression of the *Indian*, burning himself at *Athens** in his last words upon the pyre unto the amazed spectators, Thus I make myself immortal.

* And therefore the
Inscription of his Tomb
was made accordingly.
Nic. Damas.

But the *Chaldeans*, the great Idolaters of fire, abhorred the burning of their carcasses, as a pollution of that Deity. The *Persian Magi* declined it upon the like scruple, and being only solicitous about their bones, exposed their flesh to the prey of Birds and Dogs. And the *Persees* now in *India*, which expose their bodies unto Vultures, and endure not so much as feretra or Biers of Wood, the proper Fuell of fire, are led on with such niceties. But whether the ancient *Germans* who buried their dead, held any such fear to pollute their Deity of *Herthus*, or the earth, we have no Authentick conjecture.

The *Ægyptians* were afraid of fire, not as a Deity, but a devouring Element, mercilessly consuming their bodies, and leaving too little of them ; and therefore by precious Embalments, depositure in dry earths, or handsome inclosure in glasses, contrived the notablest wayes of integral conservation. And from such *Ægyptian* scruples imbibed by *Pythagoras*, it may be conjectured that *Numa* and the Pythagorical Sect first waved the fiery solution.

The *Scythians* who swore by winde and sword, that is, by life and death, were so far from burning their bodies, that they declined all interment, and made their graves in the air. And the *Ichthyophagi* or fish-eating Nations about *Ægypt*, affected the Sea for their grave : thereby declining

visible corruption, and restoring the debt of their bodies. Whereas the old Heroes in *Homer* dreaded nothing more than water or drowning; probably upon the old opinion of the fiery substance of the soul, onely extinguishable by that Element; and therefore the Poet emphatically implieth the total destruction in this kinde of death, which happened to

*Ajax Oileus.**

*Which Magius reads

ἐξαπόλωλε.

†Diodorus Siculus.

‡Ramusius in Navigat.

The old *Balearians*† had a peculiar mode, for they used great Urnes and much wood, but no fire in their burials; while they bruised the flesh and bones of the dead, crowded them into Urnes, and laid heaps of wood upon them. And the *Chinese*‡ without cremation or urnal interment of their bodies, make use of trees and much burning, while they plant a Pine-tree by their grave, and burn great numbers of printed draughts of slaves and horses over it, civilly content with their companies in effigie, which barbarous Nations exact unto reality.

Christians abhorred this way of obsequies, and though they stick not to give their bodies to be burnt in their lives, detested that mode after death; affecting rather a depositure than absumption, and properly submitting unto the sentence of God, to return not unto ashes but unto dust again, conformable unto the practice of the Patriarches, the interment of our Saviour, of *Peter, Paul*, and the ancient Martyrs. And so far at last declining promiscuous interment with Pagans, that some have suffered Ecclesiastical censures, for making no scruple thereof.§

§ *Martialis the Bishop.*
Cyprian.

The *Musselman* believers will never admit this fiery re-

solution. For they hold a present trial from their black and white Angels in the grave; which they must have made so hollow, that they may rise upon their knees.

The Jewish Nation, though they entertained the old way of inhumation, yet sometimes admitted this practice. For the men of *Jabesh* burnt the body of *Saul*. And by no prohibited practice to avoid contagion or pollution, in the time of pestilence, burnt the bodies of their friends.* And when they burnt not their dead bodies, yet sometimes used great burnings near and about them, deducible from the expressions concerning *Jehoram*, *Sedechias*, and the sumptuous pyre of *Asa*: and were so little averse from Pagan burning,† that the Jews lamenting the death of *Cæsar* their friend, and revenger on *Pompey*, frequented the place where his body was burnt for many nights together. And as they raised noble Monuments and Mausolæums for their own Nation,‡ so they were not scrupulous in erecting some for others, according to the practice of *Daniel*, who left that lasting sepulchral pyle in *Echbatana*, for the *Median* and *Persian* Kings.§

But even in times of subjection and hottest use, they conformed not unto the *Romane* practice of burning; whereby the prophecy was secured concerning the body of Christ, that it should not see corruption, or a bone shall not be broken; which we believe was also providentially prevented, from the Soldiers spear and nailes that past by the little bones both in his hands and feet: Not of ordinary contrivance, that it should not corrupt on the crosse, according to

* *Amos VI* 10.

† *Sueton. in vita Jul. Cæs.*

‡ *As that magnificent sepulchral Monument erected by Simon. Macc. l. 13.*

§ *κατασκέυασμα δαυμασίως πεποιημένον whereof a Jewish Priest had always the custody unto Josephus his dayes. Jos. Antiq. Lib. 10.*

the Law of *Romane* Crucifixion, or an hair of his head perish, though observable in Jewish customs, to cut the haire of Malefactors.

Nor in their long co-habitation with the *Ægyptians*, crept into a custome of their exact embalming, wherein deeply slashing the muscles, and taking out the braines and entrails, they had broken the subject of so entire a Resurrection, nor fully answered the types of *Enoch*, *Elijah*, or *Jonah*, which yet to prevent or restore, was of equal facility unto that rising power, able to break the fasciations and bands of death, to get clear out of the Cere-cloth, and a hundred pounds of ointment; and out of the Sepulchre before the stone was rolled from it.

But though they embraced not this practice of burning, yet entertained they many ceremonies agreeable unto *Greek* and *Romane* obsequies. And he that observeth their Funeral Feasts, their lamentations at the grave, their musick and weeping mourners; how they closed the eyes of their friends, how they washed, anointed, and kissed the dead; may easily conclude these were not mere Pagan-Civilities. But whether that mournful burthen, and treble calling out after *Absalom*, had any reference to the last conclamation, and triple valediction, used by other nations, we hold but a wavering conjecture.

Civilians make sepulture but of the Law of nations, others do naturally found it and discover it also in animals. They that are so thick skinned as still to credit the story of the *Phoenix*, may say something for animal burning. More se-

rious conjectures finde some examples of sepulture in Elephants, Cranes, the Sepulchral Cells of Pismires and practice of Bees ; which civil society carrieth out their dead, and hath exequies, if not interments.

CHAPTER II

THE Solemnities, Ceremonies, Rites of their cremation or interment, so solemnly delivered by Authors, we shall not disparage our Reader to repeat. Only the last and lasting part of their Urnes, collected bones and Ashes, we cannot wholly omit, or decline that Subject, which occasion lately presented, in some discovered among us.

In a Field of old *Walsingham*, not many months past, were digged up between forty and fifty Urnes, deposited in a dry and sandy soile, not a yard deep, not far from one another : not all strictly of one figure, but most answering these described ; some containing two pounds of bones, distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jawes, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of their combustion. Besides the extraneous substances, like pieces of small boxes, or combs handsomely wrought, handles of small brasse instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kind of Opale.*

Near the same plot of ground, for about six yards compasse were digged up coals and incinerated substances,

**In one sent me by my
worthy friend Dr.
Thomas Whitherley
of Walsingham.*

which begat conjecture that this was the Ustrina or place of burning their bodies, or some sacrificing place unto the Manes, which was properly below the surface of the ground, as the Aræ and Altars unto the gods and Heroes above it.

That these were the Urnes of *Romanes* from the common custome and place where they were found, is no obscure conjecture, not far from a *Romane* Garrison, and but five mile from *Brancaster*, set down by ancient Record under the name of *Brannodunum*. And where the adjoining Town, containing seven Parishes, in no very different sound, but *Saxon* termination, still retains the Name of *Burnham*, which being an early station, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of *Romanes* themselves, or *Brittains* Romanised, which observed the *Romane* customes.

Nor is it improbable that the *Romanes* early possessed this Country; for though we meet not with such strict particulars of these parts, before the new Institution of *Constantine*, and military charge of the Count of the *Saxon* shore, and that about the *Saxon* Invasions, the *Dalmatian* Horsemen were in the Garrison of *Branchaster*, yet in the time of *Claudius*, *Vespasian*, and *Severus*, we finde no lesse then three Legions dispersed through the Province of *Britain*. And as high as the Reign of *Claudius* a great overthrow was given unto the *Iceni*, by the *Romane* Lieutenant *Ostorius*. Not long after the Country was so molested, that in hope of a better state *Prasutagus* bequeathed his King-

dom unto *Nero* and his Daughters ; and *Boadicea* his Queen fought the last decisive Battle with *Paulinus*. After which time and Conquest of *Agricola* the Lieutenant of *Vespasian*, probable it is they wholly possessed this Countrey, ordering it into Garrisons or Habitations, best suitable with their securities. And so some *Romane* habitations not improbable in these parts, as high as the time of *Vespasian*, where the *Saxons* after seated, in whose thin-fill'd Mappes we yet finde the Name of *Walsingham*. Now if the *Iceni* were but *Gammadims*, *Anconians*, or men that lived in an Angle wedge or Elbow of *Brittain*, according to the Original Etymologie, this countrey will challenge the Emphatical appellation, as most properly making the Elbow or Iken of *Icenia*.

That *Brittain* was notably populous is undeniable, from that expression of *Cæsar*.* That the *Romane*s themselves were early in no small numbers, Seventy Thousand with their associates slain by *Boadicea*, affords a sure account. And though many *Romane* habitations are now known, yet some by old works, Rampiers, Coynes, and Urnes do testifie their possessions. Some Urnes have been found at *Castor*, some also about *South-creeke* and not many years past, no lesse then ten in a field at *Buxtone*,† not nere any recorded Garrison. Nor is it strange to finde *Romane* Coynes of Copper and Silver among us ; of *Vespasian*, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Commodus*, *Antoninus*, *Severus*, &c. But the greater number of *Dioclesian*, *Constantine*, *Constans*, *Valens*, with many of *Victorinus* *Posthumius*, *Tetricus*, and the thirty Tyrants

‡ *Hominum infinita
multitudo est, creberri-
maque ; ædificia ferè
Gallicis consimilia.
Cæs. de Bello Gal. l. 5.*

† *In the ground of my
worthy Friend Rob.
Jegon Esq. wherein
some things contained
were preserved by the
most worthy Sir Wil-
liam Paston Bt.*

*From *Castor* to *Thetford* the Romans accounted thirty two miles, and from thence observed not our common road to London, but passed by *Combretonium* ad *Ansam*, *Canonium*, *Cæsaromagus*, &c. by *Bretenham*, *Coggeshall*, *Chelmesford*, *Burntwood*, &c.

†Most at *Castor* by *Yarmouth*, found in a place called *East-bloudyburgh* *Furlong*, belonging to *Mr. Thomas Wood*, a person of civility, industry and knowledge in this way, who hath made observation of remarkable things about him, and from whom we have received divers *Silver* and *Copper* *Coynes*.

‡Belonging to that Noble Gentleman, and true example of worth *Sir Ralph Hare* *Baronet*, my honoured Friend.

§A piece of *Maud* the *Empresse* said to be found in *Buckenham* Castle with this inscription, *Elle n'a elle*.

|| At *Thorpe*.

¶ *Brampton Abbas* *Journallensis*.

in the Reigne of *Gallienus*; and some as high as *Adrianus* have been found about *Thetford*, or *Sitomagus*, mentioned in the itinerary of *Antoninus*, as the way from *Venta* or *Castor* unto *London*.* But the most frequent discovery is made at the two *Castors* by *Norwich* and *Yarmouth*,† at *Burgh-castle* and *Brancaster*.‡

Besides, the *Norman*, *Saxon* and *Danish* pieces of *Cuthred*, *Canutus*, *William*, *Matilda*,§ and others, some *Brittish* *Coynes* of gold have been dispersedly found; and no small number of silver pieces neer || *Norwich* with a rude head upon the obverse, and an ill-formed horse on the reverse, with inscriptions *Ic. Duro T.* whether implying *Iceni*, *Duro-riges*, *Tascia*, or *Trinobantes*, we leave to higher conjecture. *Vulgar Chronology* will have *Norwich* Castle as old as *Julius Cæsar*; but his distance from these parts, and its *Gothick* form of structure, abridgeth such Antiquity. The *Brittish* *Coynes* afford conjecture of early habitation in these parts, though the city of *Norwich* arose from the ruines of *Venta*, and though perhaps not without some habitation before, was enlarged, builded, and nominated by the *Saxons*. In what bulk or populousity it stood in the old *East-angle* Monarchy, tradition and history are silent. Considerable it was in the *Danish* Eruptions, when *Sueno* burnt *Thetford* and *Norwich*,¶ and *Ulfketel* the Governour thereof was able to make some resistance, and after endeavoured to burn the *Danish* Navy.

How the *Romanes* left so many *Coynes* in countries of their Conquests, seemes of hard resolution, except we con-

sider how they buried them under ground, when upon barbarous invasions they were fain to desert their habitations in most part of their Empire, and the strictnesse of their laws forbidding to transfer them to any other uses ; wherein the *Spartans** were singular, who to make their copper money uselesse, contempered it with vinegar. That the *Brittains* left any, some wonder ; since their money was iron, and iron rings before *Cæsar* ; and those of after-stamp by permission, and but small in bulk and bignesse ; that so few of the *Saxons* remain, because overcome by succeeding Conquerors upon the place, their coynes by degrees passed into other stamps, and the marks of after ages.

**Plut. in vita Lycurg.*

Than the time of these Urnes deposited, or precise Antiquity of these Reliques, nothing of more uncertainty. For since the Lieutenant of *Claudius* seems to have made the first progresse into these parts, since *Boadicea* was overthrown by the forces of *Nero*, and *Agricola* put a full end to these Conquests, it is not probable the Countrey was fully garrisoned or planted before ; and therefore however these Urnes might be of later date, not likely of higher Antiquity.

And the succeeding Emperours desisted not from their Conquests in these and other parts ; as testified by history and medal inscription yet extant. The Province of *Brittain* in so divided a distance from Rome, beholding the faces of many imperial persons, and in large account no fewer then *Cæsar*, *Claudius*, *Britannicus*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Adrian*, *Severus*, *Commodus*, *Geta*, and *Caracalla*.

**Stowe's Survey of Lon.*

A great obscurity herein, because no medal or Emperour's coynne enclosed, which might denote the dates of their interments; observable in many Urnes, and found in those of *Spittle Fields by London*,* which contained the coynes of *Claudius, Vespasian, Commodus, Antoninus*, attended with Lacrymatories, Lamps, Bottles of Liquor, and other appurtenances of affectionate superstition, which in these rural interments were wanting.

Some uncertainty there is from the period or term of burning, or the cessation of that practice. *Macrobius* affirmeth it was disused in his dayes. But most agree, though without authentick record, that it ceased with the *Antonini*. Most safely to be understood after the Reigne of those Emperours, which assumed the name of *Antoninus*, extending unto *Heliogabalus*. Not strictly after *Marcus*; for about fifty years later we finde the magnificent burning and consecration of *Severus*; and if we so fix this period or cessation, these Urnes will challenge above thirteen hundred years.

But whether this practice was onely then left by Emperours and great persons, or generally about *Rome*, and not in other Provinces, we hold no authentick account. For after *Tertullian*, in the dayes of *Minucius* it was obviously objected upon Christians, that they condemned the practice of burning.† And we find a passage in *Sidonius*‡ which asserteth that practice in *France* unto a lower account. And perhaps not fully disused till Christianity fully established, which gave the final extinction to these Sepulchral Bonfires.

†*Execrantur rogos, et damnant ignium sepulchrum. Min. in Oct.*

‡*Sidon. Apollinaris.*

Whether they were the bones of men or women or child-

ren, no authentick decision from ancient custome in distinct places of burial. Although not improbably conjectured, that the double Sepulture or burying place of *Abraham*, had in it such intention. But from exility of bones, thinness of skulls, smallness of teeth, ribbes, and thigh-bones, not improbable that many thereof were persons of minor age, or women. Confirmable also from things contained in them: in most were found substances resembling Combes, Plates like Boxes, fastened with Iron pins, and handsomely overwrought like the necks or Bridges of Musical Instruments, long brass plates overwrought like the handles of neat implements, brazen nippers to pull away hair, and in one a kinde of Opale yet maintaining a blewish colour.

Now that they accustomed to burn or bury with them, things wherein they excelled, delighted, or which were dear unto them, either as farewells unto all pleasure, or vain apprehension that they might use them in the other world, is testified by all Antiquity. Observable from the Gemme or Beril Ring upon the finger of *Cynthia*, the Mistress of *Pro-pertius*, when after her Funeral Pyre her Ghost appeared unto him. And notably illustrated from the Contents of that *Romane Urne* preserved by Cardinal *Farnese*,* wherein besides great number of Gemmes with heads of Gods and Goddesses, were found an Ape of Agath, a Grashopper, an Elephant of Ambre, a Crystal Ball, three glasses, two Spoons, and six Nuts of Crystal. And beyond the content of Urnes, in the Monument of *Childrick* the first,† and fourth King from *Pharamond*, casually discovered three

**Vigeneri Annot. in 4. Liv.*

†*Chifflet in Anast. Childer.*

years past at *Tournay*, restoring unto the world much gold richly adorning his Sword, two hundred Rubies, many hundred Imperial Coynes, three hundred Golden Bees, the bones and horseshoe of his horse interred with him according to the barbarous magnificence of those dayes in their sepulchral Obsequies. Although if we steer by the conjecture of many and Septuagint expression, some trace thereof may be found even with the ancient Hebrews, not onely from the Sepulchral treasure of *David*, but the circumcision knives which *Joshua* also buried.

Some men considering the contents of these Urnes, lasting pieces and toyes included in them, and the custome of burning with many other Nations, might somewhat doubt whether all Urnes found among us were properly *Romane* Reliques, or some not belonging unto our *Brittish*, *Saxon*, or *Danish* Forefathers.

In the form of Burial among the ancient *Brittains*, the large Discourses of *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, and *Strabo* are silent: for the discovery whereof, with other particulars, we much deplore the loss of that Letter which *Cicero* expected or received from his Brother *Quintus*, as a resolution of *Brittish* customes; or the account which might have been made by *Scribonius Largus* the Physician, accompanying the Emperour *Claudius*, who might have also discovered that frugal Bit* of the old *Brittains*, which in the bigness of a Bean could satisfie their thirst and hunger.

**Dionis excerpta per Xiphilin, in Severo.*

But that the Druids and ruling Priests used to burn and bury, is expressed by *Pomponius*; that *Bellinus* the Brother

of *Brennus*, and King of *Brittains* was burnt, is acknowledged by *Polydorus*, as also by *Amandus Zierexensis* in *Historia*, and *Pineda* in his *Universa Historia* (Spanish). That they held that practice in *Gallia*, *Cæsar* expressly delivereth. Whether the *Brittains* (probably descended from them, of like Religion, Language and Manners) did not sometimes make use of burning; or whether at least such as were after civilized unto the *Romane* life and manners conformed not unto this practice, we have no historical assertion or denial. But since from the account of *Tacitus* the *Romanes* early wrought so much civility upon the *Brittish* stock, that they brought them to build Temples, to wear the Gown, and study the *Romane* Laws and Language, that they conformed also unto their Religious rites and customes in burials, seems no improbable conjecture.

That burning the dead was used in *Sarmatia*, is affirmed by *Gaguinus*, that the *Sueons* and *Gothlanders* used to burn their Princes and great persons, is delivered by *Saxo* and *Olaus*; that this was the old *Germane* practice, is also asserted by *Tacitus*. And though we are bare in historical particulars of such obsequies in this Island, or that the *Saxons*, *Jutes*, and *Angles* burnt their dead, yet came they from parts where 't was of ancient practice; the *Germanes* using it, from whom they were descended. And even in *Jutland* and *Sleswick* in *Anglia Cymbrica*, Urnes with bodies were found not many years before us.

But the *Danish* and Northern Nations have raised an Aera or point of compute from their Custome of burning their

**Roisold, Brendetyde.*
Ild tyde.

dead.* Some deriving it from *Unguinus*, some from *Frotho* the great ; who ordained by Law, that Princes and Chief Commanders should be committed unto the fire, though the common sort had the common grave interment. So *Stark-atteus* that old Heroe was burnt, and *Ringo* royally burnt the body of *Harold* the King slain by him.

What time this custome generally expired in that Nation, we discern no assured period ; whether it ceased before Christianity, or upon their Conversion, by *Ausgurius* the *Gaul* in the time of *Ludovicus Pius* the Son of *Charles* the Great, according to good computes ; or whether it might not be used by some persons, while for a hundred and eighty years Paganisme and Christianity were promiscuously embraced among them, there is no assured conclusion. About which times the *Danes* were busie in *England*, and particularly infested this Countrey : where many Castles and strong holds were built by them, or against them, and a great number of names and Families still derived from them. But since this custome was probably disused before their Invasion or Conquest, and the *Romanes* confessedly practiced the same, since their possession of this Island, the most assured account will fall upon the *Romanes*, or *Brittains* Romanized.

However, certain it is that Urnes conceived of no *Romane* Original, are often digged up both in *Norway* and *Denmark*, handsomely described, and graphically represented by the Learned Physician *Wormius* ; † and in some parts of *Denmark* in no ordinary number, as stands deliv-

†*Olai Wormii Monumenta et Antiquitat.*
Dan.

ered by Authors exactly describing those Countreys. And* they contained not onely bones, but many other substances in them, as Knives, pieces of Iron, Brass and Wood, and one of *Norway* a brass gilded Jewes harp.

Nor were they confused or careless in disposing the noblest sort, while they placed large stones in circle about the Urnes, or bodies which they interred ; somewhat answerable unto the Monument of *Rollrich* stones in *England*,† or sepulcral Monument probably erected by *Rollo*, who after conquered *Normandy*; where 't is not improbable somewhat might be discovered. Mean while to what Nation or person belonged that large Urne found at *Ashbury*,‡ containing mighty bones, and a Buckler; what those large Urnes found at little *Massingham*,§ or why the *Anglesea* Urnes are placed with their mouths downward, remains yet undiscovered.

† *Adolphus Cyprius in Annal. Sleswic. urnis adeo abundabat collis, &c.*

‡ *In Oxfordshire, Camlden.*

‡ *In Cheshire, Twinus de rebus Albionis.*

§ *In Norfolk, Hollingshead.*

CHAPTER III

PLAYSTERED and whited Sepulchres were anciently affected in cadaverous and corruptive Burials; and the rigid Jews were wont to garnish the Sepulchres of the righteous.|| *Ulysses* in *Hecuba*¶ cared not how meanly he lived, so he might finde a noble Tomb after death. Great Princes affected great Monuments, and the fair and larger Urnes contained no vulgar ashes, which makes that

|| *Mat. xxiii.*

¶ *Euripides.*

disparity in those which time discovereth among us. The present Urnes were not of one capacity, the largest containing above a gallon, some not much above half that measure ; nor all of one figure, wherein there is no strict conformity, in the same or different Countreys; observable from those represented by *Casalius*, *Bosio*, and others, though all found in *Italy*; while many have handles, ears, and long necks, but most imitate a circular figure, in a spherical and round composure; whether from any mystery, best duration or capacity, were but a conjecture. But the common form with necks was a proper figure, making our last bed like our first; nor much unlike the Urnes of our Nativity, while we lay in the nether part of the earth,* and inward vault of our Microcosme. Many Urnes are red, these but of a black colour, somewhat smooth, and dully sounding, which begat some doubt, whether they were burnt, or onely baked in Oven or Sun, according to the ancient way, in many Bricks, Tiles, Pots, and testaceous works; and as the word testa is properly to be taken, when occurring without addition, and chiefly intended by *Pliny*, when he commendeth Bricks and Tiles of two years old, and to make them in the spring. Nor onely these concealed pieces, but the open magnificence of Antiquity, ran much in the Artifice of Clay. Hereof the house of *Mausolus* was built, thus old *Jupiter* stood in the Capitol, and the Statua of *Hercules* made in the Reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, was extant in *Pliny's* dayes. And such as declined burning or Funeral Urnes, affected Coffins of Clay, according to the mode of

**Psa. lxiii.*

Pythagoras, a way preferred by Varro. But the spirit of great ones was above these circumscriptions, affecting Copper, Silver, Gold, and Porphyrie Urnes, wherein *Severus* lay, after a serious view and sentence on that which should contain him.* Some of these Urnes were thought to have been silvered over, from sparklings in several pots, with small Tinsel parcels ; uncertain whether from the earth, or the first mixture in them.

*χωρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη οὐκ ἐχώρησεν. *Dion.*

Among these Urnes we could obtain no good account of their coverings ; onely one seemed arched over with some kinde of brickwork. Of those found at *Buxton* some were covered with flints, some in other parts with Tiles, those at *Yarmouth Caster* were closed with *Romane* bricks. And some have proper earthen covers adapted and fitted to them. But in the *Homeric* Urne of *Patroclus*, whatever was the solid Tegument, we finde the immediate covering to be a purple piece of silk : and such as had no covers might have the earth closely pressed into them, after which disposure were probably some of these, wherein we found the bones and ashes half mortered unto the sand and sides of the Urne ; and some long roots of Quich, or Dogs-grass wreathed about the bones.

No Lamps, included Liquors, Lachrymatories, or Tear-Bottles attended these rural Urnes, either as sacred unto the Manes, or passionate expressions of their surviving friends. While with rich flames and hired tears they solemnized their Obsequies, and in the most lamented Monuments made one part of their Inscriptions.† Some finde sepulchral Vessels

† *Cum lacrymis posuere.*

containing liquors, which time hath incrassated into gellies. For beside these Lachrymatories, notable Lamps, with Vessels of Oyles and Aromatical Liquors attended noble Ossuaries. And some yet retaining a Vinosity* and spirit in them, which if any have tasted they have far exceeded the Palats of Antiquity. Liquors not to be computed by years of annual Magistrates, but by great conjunctions and the fatal periods of Kingdoms.† The draughts of Consulary date, were but crude unto these, and *Opimian* wine‡ but in the must unto them.

In sundry graves and Sepulchres, we meet with Rings, Coynes, and Chalices ; ancient frugality was so severe, that they allowed no gold to attend the Corps, but onely that which served to fasten their teeth.§ Whether the Opaline stone in this Urne were burnt upon the finger of the dead, or cast into the fire by some affectionate friend, it will consist with either custome. But other incinerable substances were found so fresh, that they could feel no singe from fire. These upon view were judged to be wood, but sinking in water and tried by the fire, we found them to be bone or Ivory. In their hardnesse and yellow colour they most resembled Box, which in old expressions found the Epithete|| of Eternal, and perhaps in such conservatories might have passed uncorrupted.

That Bay-leaves were found green in the Tomb of *S. Humbert*,¶ after an hundred and fifty years, was looked upon as miraculous. Remarkable it was unto old Spectators, that the Cypresse of the Temple of *Diana*, lasted so many

**Lazius.*

†*About five hundred years. Plato.*

‡*Vinum Opimianum annorum centum. Petron.*

§*12 Tabul. 1. xi. de Jure sacro. Neve aurum adito, ast quoi auro dentes vincti erunt, im cum illo sepelire urere, se fraude esto.*

||*Plin. 1. xvi. Inter ξύλα ἀσπαῖ numerat Theophrastus.*

¶*Surius.*

hundred years: the wood of the Ark and Olive Rod of *Aaron* were older at the Captivity. But the Cypresse of the Ark of *Noah*, was the greatest vegetable Antiquity, if *Josephus* were not deceived, by some fragments of it in his dayes. To omit the Moore-logs, and Firre-trees found underground in many parts of England; the undated ruins of winds, floods or earthquakes; and which in *Flanders* still shew from what quarter they fell, as generally lying in the North-East position.*

But though we found not these pieces to be wood, according to first apprehension, yet we missed not altogether of some woody substance; for the bones were not so clearly picked, but some coals were found amongst them; a way to make wood perpetual, and a fit associate for metal, whereon was laid the foundation of the great *Ephesian* Temple, and which were made the lasting tests of old boundaries, and landmarks; whilst we look on these we admire not observations of Coals found fresh, after four hundred years.† In a long deserted habitation,‡ even Egge-shells have been found fresh, not tending to corruption.

In the Monument of King *Childerick*, the iron Reliques were found all rusty and crumbling into pieces. But our little iron pins which fastened the ivory works, held well together, and lost not their Magnetical quality, though wanting a tenacious moisture for the firmer union of parts, although it be hardly drawn into fusion, yet that metal soon submitteth unto rust and dissolution. In the brazen pieces we admired not the duration but the freedom from rust, and

**Gorop. Becanus in Niloscopio.*

†*Of Beringuccio nella pyrotechnia.*

‡*At Elmham.*

ill favour; upon the hardest attrition, but now exposed unto the piercing Atomes of aire, in the space of a few moneths, they begin to spot and betray their green entrals. We conceive not these Urnes to have descended thus naked as they appear, or to have entred their graves without the old habit of flowers. The Urne of *Philopæmon* was so laden with flowers and ribbons, that it afforded no sight of itself. The rigid *Lycurgus* allowed Olive and Myrtle. The *Athenians* might fairely except against the practice of *Democritus* to be buried up in honey, as fearing to embezzle a great commodity of their Country, and the best of that kinde in *Europe*. But *Plato* seemed too frugally politick, who allowed no larger monument then would contain four heroick verses, and designed the most barren ground for sepulture; though we cannot commend the goodnesse of that sepulchral ground, which was set at no higher rate than the mean salary of *Judas*. Though the earth had confounded the ashes of these Ossuaries, yet the bones were so smartly burnt, that some thin plates of brasse were found half melted among them: whereby we apprehended they were not of the meanest carcasses, perfunctorily fired as sometimes in military, and commonly in pestilence, burnings; or after the manner of abject corps, hudled forth and carelesly burnt, without the *Esquiline* Port at *Rome*; which was an affront continued upon *Tiberius*, while they but half burnt his body,* and in the Amphitheater, according to the custome in notable Malefactors; whereas *Nero* seemed not so much to fear his death, as that his head should be cut off and his body not burnt entire.

**Sueton. in vitâ Tib.
Et in Amphitheatro
semiustulandum, not.
Casaub.*

Some finding many fragments of skulls in these Urnes, suspected a mixture of bones; in none we searched was there cause of such conjecture, though sometimes they declined not that practice; the ashes of *Domitian** were mingled with those of *Julia*, of *Achilles* with those of *Patroclus*; all Urnes contained not single ashes; without confused burnings they affectionately compounded their bones; passionately endeavouring to continue their living Unions. And when distance of death denied such conjunctions, unsatisfied affections conceived some satisfaction to be neighbours in the grave, to lye Urne by Urne, and touch but in their names. And many were so curious to continue their living relations, that they contrived large, and family Urnes, wherein the Ashes of their nearest friends and kindred might successively be received,† at least some parcels thereof, while their collateral memorials lay in minor vessels about them.

Antiquity held too light thoughts from Objects of mortality, while some drew provocatives of mirth from Anatomies,‡ and Jugglers shewed tricks with Skeletons; when Fiddlers made not so pleasant mirth as Fencers, and men could sit with quiet stomachs while hanging was played before them.§ Old considerations made few mementos by skulls and bones upon their monuments. In the *Ægyptian* Obelisks and Hieroglyphical figures, it is not easie to meet with bones. The sepulchral Lamps speak nothing lesse than sepulture; and in their literal draughts prove often obscene and antick pieces: where we finde D. M.|| it is obvious to meet with sacrificing *pateras*, and vessels of libation, upon

**Sueton. in vitâ Domitian.*

†*See the most learned and worthy Mr. M. Casaubon upon Antoninus.*

‡*Sic erimus cuncti, &c. Ergo dum vivimus vivamus.*

§*Ἀγώνων παίζειν. A barbarous pastime at Feasts, when men stood upon a rolling Globe, with their necks in a Rope, and a knife in their hands, ready to cut it when the stone was rolled away, wherein if they failed, they lost their lives to the laughter of their spectators. Athenæus.*

||*Diis manibus.*

**Bosio.*

old sepulchral monuments. In the Jewish Hypogæum* and subterranean Cell at *Rome*, was little observable beside the variety of Lamps, and frequent draughts of the holy Candlestick. In authentick draughts of *Anthony* and *Jerome*, we meet with thigh-bones and death's heads; but the cimiteriall Cells of ancient Christians and Martyrs were filled with draughts of Scripture Stories; not declining the flourishes of Cypresse, Palms, and Olive; and the mystical Figures of Peacocks, Doves and Cocks; but iterately affecting the portraits of *Enoch*, *Lazarus*, *Jonas*, and the vision of *Ezechiel*, as hopeful draughts, and hinting imagery of the Resurrection; which is the life of the grave, and sweetens our habitations in the Land of Moles and Pismires.

Gentile inscriptions precisely delivered the extent of men's lives, seldome the manner of their deaths, which history itself so often leaves obscure in the records of memorable persons. There is scarce any Philosopher but dies twice or thrice in *Laertius*; nor almost any life without two or three deaths in *Plutarch*; which makes the tragical ends of noble persons more favourably resented by compassionate Readers, who finde some relief in the Election of such differences.

The certainty of death is attended with uncertainties, in time, manner, places. The variety of Monuments hath often obscured true graves: and Cænotaphs confounded Sepulchres. For beside their real Tombs, many have found honorary and empty sepulchres, The variety of *Homer's* Monuments made him of various Countreys. *Euripides*† had his

†*Pausan. in Atticis.*

Tomb in *Africa*, but his sepulture in *Macedonia*. And *Severus** found his real Sepulchre in *Rome*, but his empty grave in *Gallia*.

**Lamprid. in vit. Alexand. Severi.*

He that lay in a golden Urne† eminently above the earth, was not like to finde the quiet of these bones. Many of these Urnes were broke by a vulgar discoverer in hope of enclosed treasure. The ashes of *Marcellus*‡ were lost above ground, upon the like account. Where profit hath prompted, no age hath wanted such miners. For which the most barbarous Expilators found the most civil Rhetorick. Gold once out of the earth is no more due unto it; what was unreasonably committed to the ground is reasonably resumed from it; let Monuments and rich Fabricks, not Riches adorn men's ashes; the commerce of the living is not to be transferred unto the dead: it is not injustice to take that which none complains to lose, and no man is wronged where no man is possessor.

†*Trajanus. Dion.*

‡*Plut. in vit. Marcelli. The Commission of the Gothish King Theodoric for finding out sepulchral treasure. Cassiodor. Var. 1. 4.*

What virtue yet sleeps in this terra damnata and aged cinders, were petty magick to experiment; these crumbling Reliques and long-fired particles superannuate such expectations: bones, hairs, nails, and teeth of the dead, were the treasures of old Sorcerers. In vain we revive such practices; present superstition too visibly perpetuates the folly of our fore-fathers, wherein unto old§ Observation this Island was so compleat, that it might have instructed *Persia*.

Plato's historian of the other world, lies twelve dayes incorrupted, while his soul was viewing the large sections of the dead. How to keep the corps seven dayes from cor-

§ *Britannia hodie eam attonitè celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit. Plin. 1. 29.*

ruption by anointing and washing, without exenteration, were an hazardable piece of art, in our choicest practice. How they made distinct separation of bones and ashes from fiery admixture, hath found no historical solution. Though they seemed to make a distinct collection, and overlooked not *Pyrrhus* his toe. Some provision they might make by fictile Vessels, Coverings, Tiles, or flat stones, upon and about the body. And in the same Field, not far from these Urnes, many stones were found under ground, as also by careful separation of extraneous matter, composing and raking up the burnt bones with forks, observable in that notable lump of *Galuanus Martianus*,* who had the sight of the *Vas Ustrinum*,† or vessel wherein they burnt the dead, found in the *Esquiline* Field at *Rome*, might have afforded clearer solution. But their insatisfaction herein begat that remarkable invention in the Funeral Pyres of some Princes, by incombustible sheets made with a texture of Asbestos, incremable flax, or Salamanders' wool, which preserved their bones and ashes incommixed.

How the bulk of a man should sink into so few pounds of bones and ashes, may seem strange unto any who considers not its constitution, and how slender a mass will remain upon an open and urging fire of the carnal composition. Even bones themselves reduced into ashes, do abate a notable proportion. And consisting much of a volatile salt, when that is fired out, make a light kind of cinders. Although their bulk be disproportionable to their weight, when the heavy principle of Salt is fired out, and the Earth almost

*To be seen in *Licet. de reconditis veterum lucernis.*

†*Topographia Roma ex Martiano. Erat et vas ustrinum appellatum quod in eo cadavera comburerentur. Cap. de Campo Esquilino.*

onely remaineth ; observable in sallow, which makes more Ashes than Oake ; and discovers the common fraud of selling Ashes by measure, and not by ponderation.

Some bones make best Skeletons,* some bodies quick and speediest ashes : who would expect a quick flame from Hydropical *Heraclitus* ? The poisoned Soldier when his Belly brake, put out two pyres in *Plutarch*.† But in the plague of *Athens*,‡ one private pyre served two or three Intruders ; and the *Saracens* burnt in large heaps, by the King of *Cas-tile*,§ shewed how little Fuel sufficeth. Though the Funeral pyre of *Patroclus* took up an hundred foot,|| a piece of an old boat burnt *Pompey* ; And if the burthen of *Isaac* were sufficient for an holocaust, a man may carry his own pyre.

From animals are drawn good burning lights, and good medicines¶ against burning ; though the seminal humor seems of a contrary nature to fire, yet the body compleated proves a combustible lump, wherein fire findes flame even from bones, and some fuel almost from all parts. Though the Metropolis of humidity** seems least disposed unto it, which might render the skulls of these Urnes less burned then other bones. But all flies or sinks before fire almost in all bodies : when the common ligament is dissolved, the attenuable parts ascend, the rest subside in coal, calx or ashes.

To burn the bones of the King of *Edom*†† for Lyme, seems no irrational ferity ; but to drink of the ashes of dead relations,‡‡ a passionate prodigality. He that hath the ashes of his friend, hath an everlasting treasure : where fire taketh

*Old bones according to *Lyserus*. Those of young persons not tall nor fat according to *Columbus*.

†In *vita*. *Gracc*.

‡*Thucydides*.

§*Laurent*. *Valla*.

||Ἐκατόμπεδον ἔνθα ἦ ἔνθα.

¶*Speran*. *Alb*. *Ovor*.

**The brain. *Hippocrates*.

††*Amos* II. 1.

‡‡As *Artemisia* of her Husband *Mausolus*.

leave, corruption slowly enters; in bones well burnt, fire makes a wall against it self, experimented in copels, and tests of metals, which consist of such ingredients. What the Sun compoundeth, fire analyseth, not transmuteth. That devouring agent leaves almost alwayes a morsel for the Earth, whereof all things are but a colony; and which, if time permits, the mother Element will have in their primitive mass again.

He that looks for Urnes and old sepulchral Reliques, must not seek them in the ruins of Temples, where no Religion anciently placed them. These were found in a Field, according to ancient custome, in noble or private burial; the old practice of the *Canaanites*, the Family of *Abraham*, and the burying place of *Joshua*, in the borders of his possessions; and also agreeable unto *Romane* practice to bury by high-ways, whereby their Monuments were under eye: memorials of themselves, and mementos of mortality unto living passengers; whom the Epitaphs of great ones were fain to beg to stay and look upon them. A language though sometimes used, not so proper in Church-Inscriptions.* The sensible Rhetorick of the dead, to exemplarity of good life, first admitted the bones of pious men and Martyrs within Church-walls; which in succeeding ages crept into promiscuous practice. While *Constantine* was peculiarly favoured to be admitted unto the Church Porch; and the first thus buried in *England* was in the dayes of *Cuthred*.

* *Siste viator.*

† *Kirckmannus de funer.*

Christians dispute how their bodies should lye in the grave.† In urnal interment they clearly escaped this Con-

troversie ; though we decline the Religious consideration, yet in cemiterial and narrower burying places, to avoid confusion and cross position, a certain posture were to be admitted ; which even Pagan civility observed. The *Persians* lay North and South, the *Megarians* and *Phœnicians* placed their heads to the East, the *Athenians*, some think, towards the West, which Christians still retain. And *Beda* will have it to be the posture of our Saviour. That he was crucified with his face towards the West, we will not contend with tradition and probable account ; but we applaud not the hand of the Painter, in exalting his Cross so high above those on either side ; since hereof we finde no authentick account in history, and even the crosses found by *Helena* pretend no such distinction from longitude or dimension.

To be knaved out of our graves, to have our skulls made drinking-bowls, and our bones turned into Pipes, to delight and sport our Enemies, are Tragical abominations, escaped in burning Burials.

Urnal interments, and burnt Reliques lye not in fear of worms, or to be an heritage for Serpents ; in carnal sepulture, corruptions seem peculiar unto parts, and some speak of snakes out of the spinal marrow. But while we suppose common wormes in graves, 't is not easie to finde any there ; few in Church-yards above a foot deep, fewer or none in Churches, though in fresh decayed bodies. Teeth, bones, and hair, give the most lasting defiance to corruption. In an Hydropical body ten years buried in a Church yard, we met with a fat concretion, where the nitre of the Earth, and

the salt and lixivious liquor of the body, had coagulated large lumps of fat into the consistence of the hardest Castile-soap; whereof part remaineth with us. After a battle with the *Persians*, the *Romane* Corps decayed in few dayes, while the *Persian* bodies remained dry and uncorrupted. Bodies in the same ground do not uniformly dissolve, nor bones equally moulder; whereof in the opprobrious disease we expect no long duration. The body of the Marquess of *Dorset* seemed sound and handsomely cereclothed, that after seventy eight years was found uncorrupted.* Common Tombs preserve not beyond powder: a firmer consistence and compage of parts might be expected from Arefaction, deep burial or Charcoal. The greatest Antiquities of mortal bodies may remain in petrified bones, whereof, though we take not in the pillar of *Lot's* wife, or Metamorphosis of *Ortelius*,† some may be older than Pyramids, in the petrified Reliques of the general inundation. When *Alexander* opened the Tomb of *Cyrus*, the remaining bones discovered his proportion, whereof urnal fragments afford but a bad conjecture, and have this disadvantage of grave interments, that they leave us ignorant of most personal discoveries. For since bones afford not only rectitude and stability, but figure unto the body, it is no impossible Physiognomy to conjecture at fleshly appendencies, and after what shape the muscles and carnous parts might hang in their full consistences. A full spread *Cariola* shows a well-shaped horse behinde; handsome formed skulls give some analogy of flesh resemblance. A critical view of bones makes a good

*Of *Thomas Marquesse of Dorset*, whose body being buried 1530 was 1608, upon the cutting open of the Cerecloth, found perfect and nothing corrupted, the flesh not hardened, but in colour, proportion, and softnesse like an ordinary corps newly to be interred. *Burton's description of Leicestershire.*

†In his *Map of Russia.*

distinction of sexes. Even colour is not beyond conjecture since it is hard to be deceived in the distinction of Negro(e)'s skulls. *Dante's Characters** are to be found in skulls as well as faces. *Hercules* is not onely known by his foot. Other parts make out their compropotions, and inferences upon whole, or parts. And since the dimensions of the head measure the whole body, and the figure thereof gives conjecture of the principal faculties, Physiognomy out-lives our selves, and ends not in our graves.

Severe contemplators observing these lasting reliques, may think them good monuments of persons past, little advantage to future beings ; and considering that power which subdueth all things unto it self, that can resume the scattered Atomes, or identifie out of any thing, conceive it superfluous to expect a resurrection out of Reliques. But the soul subsisting, other matter clothed with due accidents may solve the individuality : yet the Saints we observe arose from graves and monuments, about the holy City. Some think the ancient Patriarchs so earnestly desired to lay their bones in *Canaan*, as hoping to make a part of that Resurrection, and though thirty miles from Mount *Calvary*, at least to lie in that Region, which should produce the first-fruits of the dead. And if according to learned conjecture, the bodies of men shall rise where their greatest Reliques remain, many are not like to erre in the Topography of their Resurrection, though their bones or bodies be after translated by Angels into the field of *Ezechiel's* vision, or as some will order it, into the Valley of Judgement, or *Jehosaphat*.†

**The Poet Dante in his view of Purgatory, found gluttons so meagre, and extenuated, that he conceived them to have been in the Siege of Jerusalem, and that it was easie to have discovered Homo or Omo in their faces : M being made by the two lines of their cheeks, arching over the Eye-brows to the nose, and their sunk eyes making O O which makes up Omo.*

Paren l'occhiaje anella senza gemme : Chi, nel viso degli uomini legge O M O, Bene avria quivi conosciuto l'emme.

† *Tirin. in Ezek.*

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANS have handsomely glossed the deformity of death, by careful consideration of the body, and civil rites which take off brutal terminations. And though they conceived all reparable by a resurrection, cast not off all care of interment. And since the ashes of Sacrifices burnt upon the Altar of God were carefully carried out by the Priests, and deposited in a clean field; since they acknowledged their bodies to be the lodging of Christ, and temples of the holy Ghost, they devolved not all upon the sufficiency of soul existence; and therefore with long services and full solemnities concluded their last Exequies, wherein* to all distinctions the *Greek* devotion seems most pathetically ceremonious.

**Rituale Græcum,*
opera J. Goar in officio
exequiarum.

†*Similis reviviscendi*
promissa Democrito
vanitas, qui non revixit
ipse. Quæ, malum, sta-
dimentia est; iterari
vitam morte. Plin. 1.
7. c. 55.

‡*Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης*
ἐλπίζομεν εἰς φάος
ελθεῖν λείψαν ἀποικομ-
ένων et deinceps.

§*Cedit enim retro de*
terrâ quod fuit ante
In Terram, &c. Lu-
cret.

Christian invention hath chiefly driven at Rites which speak hopes of another life, and hints of a Resurrection. And if the ancient *Gentiles* held not the immortality of their better part, and some subsistence after death, in several rites, customs, actions and expressions, they contradicted their own opinions: wherein *Democritus* went high, even to the thought of a resurrection,† as scoffingly recorded by *Pliny*. What can be more express than the expression of *Phocylides*?‡ Or who would expect from *Lucretius*§ a sentence of *Ecclesiastes*? Before *Plato* could

speaking, the soul had wings in *Homer*, which fell not, but flew out of the body unto the mansions of the dead; who also observed that handsome distinction of Demas and Sema, for the body conjoyned to the soul and body separated from it. *Lucian* spoke much truth in jest, when he said, that part of *Hercules* which proceeded from *Alcmena* perished, that from *Jupiter* remained immortal. Thus* *Socrates* was content that his friends should bury his body, so they would not think they buried *Socrates*, and regarding onely his immortal part, was indifferent to be burnt or buried. From such Considerations *Diogenes* might condemn Sepulture. And being satisfied that the soul could not perish, grow careless of corporal interment. The *Stoicks* who thought the souls of wise men had their habitation about the Moon, might make slight account of subterraneous deposition; whereas the *Pythagoreans* and transcorporating Philosophers, who were to be often buried, held great care of their interment. And the *Platonicks* rejected not a due care of the grave, though they put their ashes to unreasonable expectations, in their tedious term of return and long set revolution.

**Plato in Phæd.*

Men have lost their reason in nothing so much as their Religion, wherein stones and clouts make Martyrs; and since the Religion of one seems madness unto another, to afford an account or rational of old Rites requires no rigid Reader; that they kindled the pyre aversely, or turning their face from it, was an handsome Symbole of unwilling ministration; that they washed their bones with wine and

**Vale, vale, vale, nos
te ordine quo natura
permittet sequamur.*

milk, that the mother wrapt them in Linnen, and dried them in her bosome, the first fostering part, and place of their nourishment; that they opened their eyes towards heaven, before they kindled the fire, as the place of their hopes or original, were no improper Ceremonies. Their last valediction * thrice uttered by the attendants was also very solemn and somewhat answered by Christians, who thought it too little, if they threw not the earth thrice upon the interred body. That in strewing their Tombs the *Romanes* affected the Rose, the *Greeks* Amaranthus and Myrtle; that the Funeral pyre consisted of sweet fuel, Cypress, Firre, Larix, Yewe, and Trees perpetually verdant, lay silent expressions of their surviving hopes: wherein Christians which deck their Coffins with Bays have found a more elegant Embleme. For that tree seeming dead, will restore it self from the root, and its dry and exsuccous leaves resume their verdure again; which if we mistake not, we have also observed in Furze. Whether the planting of Yewe in Church-yards, hold not its original from ancient Funeral Rites, or as an Embleme of Resurrection from its perpetual verdure, may also admit conjecture.

They made use of Musick to excite or quiet the affections of their friends, according to different harmonies. But the secret and symbolical hint was the harmonical nature of the soul; which delivered from the body went again to enjoy the primitive harmony of heaven, from whence it first descended; which according to its progresse traced by antiquity, came down by *Cancer*, and ascended by *Capricornus*.

They burnt not children before their teeth appeared, as apprehending their bodies too tender a morsel for fire, and that their gristly bones would scarce leave separable reliques after the pyral combustion. That they kindled not fire in their houses for some dayes after, was a strict memorial of the late afflicting fire. And mourning without hope, they had an happy fraud against excessive lamentation, by a common opinion that deep sorrows disturbed their ghosts.*

**Tu manes ne læde meos.*

That they buried their dead on their backs, or in a supine position, seems agreeable unto profound sleep, and common posture of dying; contrary to the most natural way of birth; nor unlike our pendulous posture, in the doubtful state of the womb. *Diogenes* was singular, who preferred a prone situation in the grave, and some Christians† like neither, who declined the figure of rest, and make choice of an erect posture.

†*Russians, &c.*

That they carried them out of the world with their feet forward, not inconsonant unto reason: as contrary unto the native posture of man, and his production first into it. And also agreeable unto their opinions, while they bid adieu unto the world, not to look again upon it; whereas *Mahometans* who think to return to a delightful life again, are carried forth with their heads forward, and looking towards their houses.

They closed their eyes as parts which first die or first discover the sad effects of death. But their iterated clamations to excitate their dying or dead friends, or revoke them unto life again, was a vanity of affection; as not presum-

ably ignorant of the critical tests of death, by apposition of feathers, glasses, and reflexion of figures, which dead eyes represent not, which however not strictly verifiable in fresh and warm cadavers, could hardly elude the test in corps of four or five dayes.

That they sucked in the last breath of their expiring friends, was surely a practice of no medical institution, but a loose opinion that the soul passed out that way, and a fondnesse of affection from some * *Pythagorical* foundation, that the spirit of one body passed into another; which they wished might be their own.

* *Francesco Perucci.*
Pompe funebri.

That they poured oyle upon the pyre, was a tolerable practice, while the intention rested in facilitating the accension; but to place good Omens in the quick and speedy burning, to sacrifice unto the winds for a dispatch in this office, was a low form of superstition.

The Archimime or Jester attending the Funeral train, and imitating the speeches, gesture, and manners of the deceased, was too light for such solemnities, contradicting their funeral Orations, and doleful rites of the grave.

That they buried a piece of money with them as a Fee of the *Elysian* Ferryman, was a practice full of folly. But the ancient custome of placing coynes in considerable Urnes, and the present practice of burying medals in the Noble Foundations of *Europe*, are laudable wayes of historical discoveries, in actions, persons, Chronologies; and posterity will applaud them.

We examine not the old laws of Sepulture, exempting

certain persons from burial or burning. But hereby we apprehend that these were not the bones of persons Planet-struck or burnt with fire from Heaven: no Reliques of Traitors to their countrey, Self-killers, or Sacrilegious Male-factors; persons in old apprehension unworthy of the earth; condemned unto the *Tartarus* of Hell, and bottomlesse pit of *Pluto*, from whence there was no redemption.

Nor were onely many customes questionable in order to their Obsequies, but also sundry practices, fictions, and conceptions, discordant or obscure, of their state and future beings; whether unto eight or ten bodies of men to adde one of a woman, as being more inflammable, and unctuously constituted for the better pyral combustion, were any rational practice: or whether the complaint of *Periander's* Wife be tolerable, that wanting her funeral burning she suffered intolerable cold in Hell, according to the constitution of the infernal house of *Pluto*, wherein cold makes a great part of their tortures, it cannot passe without some question.

Why the Female Ghosts appear unto *Ulysses*, before the Heroes and masculine spirits; why the *Pysche* or soul of *Tiresias* is of the masculine gender; * who being blinde on earth sees more than all the rest in hell; why the Funerall Suppers consisted of Egges, Beans, Smallage, and Lettuce, since the dead are made to eat *Asphodels* † about the *Elysian* meadows; why, since there is no Sacrifice acceptable, nor any propitiation for the Covenant of the grave, men set up the Diety of *Morta*, and fruitlessly adored Divinities without ears, it cannot escape some doubt.

* In Homer: Ψυχὴ θηβαίων Τειρεσίαο σκήπτρον ἔχων.

† In Lucian.

The dead seem all alive in the humane *Hades* of *Homer*, yet cannot we speak, prophesie, or know the living, except they drink blood, wherein is the life of man. And therefore the soules of *Penelope's* Paramours conducted by *Mercury* chirped like bats, and those which followed *Hercules* made a noise but like a flock of birds.

The departed spirits know things past and to come, yet are ignorant of things present. *Agamemnon* foretells what should happen unto *Ulysses*, yet ignorantly inquires what is to become of his own Son. The ghosts are afraid of swords in *Homer*, yet *Sybilla* tells *Æneas* in *Virgil*, the thin habit of spirits was beyond the force of weapons. The spirits put off their malice with their bodies, and *Cæsar* and *Pompey* accord in *Latine Hell*, yet *Ajax* in *Homer* endures not a conference with *Ulysses*: and *Deiphobus* appears all mangled in *Virgil's* Ghosts, yet we meet with perfect shadows among the wounded ghosts of *Homer*.

Since *Charon* in *Lucian* applauds his condition among the dead, whether it be handsomely said of *Achilles*, that living contemner of death, that he had rather be a plowman's servant than Emperour of the dead? How *Hercules* his soul is in hell, and yet in heaven, and *Julius* his soul in a Star, yet seen by *Æneas* in hell?—except the Ghosts were but images and shadows of the soul, received in higher mansions, according to the ancient division of body, soul, and image or simulacrum of them both. The particulars of future beings must needs be dark unto ancient Theories, which Christian Philosophy yet determines but in a Cloud

of Opinions. A Dialogue between two Infants in the womb concerning the state of this world, might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next, whereof methinks we yet discourse in *Plato's* den, and are but Embryon Philosophers.

Pythagoras escapes in the fabulous hell of *Dante*,* among that swarm of Philosophers, wherein whilest we meet with *Plato* and *Socrates*, *Cato* is to be found in no lower place than Purgatory. Among all the set, *Epicurus* is most considerable, whom men make honest without an *Elysium*, who contemned life without encouragement of immortality, and making nothing after death, yet made nothing of the King of terrors.

**Del inferno. cant. 4.*

Were the happinesse of the next world as closely apprehended as the felicities of this, it were a martyrdome to live; and unto such as consider none hereafter, it must be more than death to die, which makes us amazed at those audacities, that durst be nothing, and return into their Chaos again. Certainly such spirits as could condemn death, when they expected no better being after, would have scorned to live had they known any. And therefore we applaud not the judgement of *Machiavel*, that Christianity makes men cowards, or that with the confidence of but half dying, the despised virtues of patience and humility have abased the spirits of men, which Pagan principles exalted, but rather regulated the wildnesse of audacities, in the attempts, grounds, and eternal sequels of death, wherein men of the boldest spirits are often prodigiously temerarious. Nor can

we extenuate the valour of ancient Martyrs, who contemned death in the uncomfortable scene of their lives, and in their decrepit Martyrdomes did probably lose not many moneths of their dayes, or parted with life when it was scarce worth the living. For (beside that long time past holds no consideration unto a slender time to come) they had no small disadvantage from the constitution of old age, which naturally makes men fearful; and complexionally superannuated from the bold and courageous thoughts of youth and fervent years. But the contempt of death from corporal animosity promoteth not our felicity. They may sit in the Orchestra, and noblest Seats of Heaven, who have held up shaking hands in the fire, and humanely contended for glory.

Mean while *Epicurus* lies deep in *Dante's* hell, wherein we meet with Tombs enclosing souls which denied their immortalities. But whether the virtuous heathen, who lived better than he spake, or erring in the principles of himself, yet lived above Philosophers of more specious Maximes, lie so deep as he is placed; at least so low as not to rise against Christians, who, believing or knowing that truth, have lastingly denied it in their practice and conversation, were a quæry too sad to insist on.

But all or most apprehensions rested in Opinions of some future being, which, ignorantly or coldly believed, beget those perverted Conceptions, Ceremonies, Sayings, which Christians pity or laugh at. Happy are they, which live not in that disadvantage of time, when men could say little for

futurity, but from reason. Whereby the noblest mindes fell often upon doubtful deaths, and melancholy Dissolutions; with these hopes *Socrates* warmed his doubtful spirits against that cold potion, and *Cato* before he durst give the fatal stroke, spent part of the night in reading the immortality of *Plato*, thereby confirming his wavering hand unto the animosity of that attempt.

It is the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at a man, to tell him he is at the end of his nature; or that there is no further state to come, unto which this seems progressional, and otherwise made in vain; without this accomplishment the natural expectation and desire of such a state were but a fallacy in nature; unsatisfied Considerators would quarrel the justice of their constitutions, and rest content that *Adam* had fallen lower, whereby by knowing no other Original, and deeper ignorance of themselves, they might have enjoyed the happinesse of inferiour Creatures who in tranquillity possess their constitutions, as having not the apprehension to deplore their own natures; and being framed below the circumference of these hopes, or cognition of better being, the wisdom of God hath necessitated their contentment: but the superiour ingredient and obscured part of our selves, whereunto all present felicities afford no resting contentment, will be able at last to tell us we are more than our present selves, and evacuate such hopes in the fruition of their own accomplishments.

CHAPTER V

NOW since these dead bones have already outlasted the living ones of *Methuselah*, and in a yard under ground, and thin walls of clay, outworn all the strong and specious buildings above it, and quietly rested under the drums and tramlings of three conquests, what Prince can promise such diuturnity unto his Reliques, or might not gladly say,

**Tibullus.*

*Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim.**

Time which antiquates Antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments. In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation and obscurity their protection; if they dyed by violent hand, and were thrust into their Urnes, these bones become considerable, and some old philosophers would honour them,† whose souls they conceived most pure, which were thus snatched from their bodies; and to retain a stronger propension unto them: whereas they weariedly left a languishing corps, and with faint desires of re-union. If they fell by long and aged decay, yet wrapt up in the bundle of time, they fell into indistinction, and make but one blot with infants. If we begin to die when we live, and long life be but a prolongation of death, our life is a sad

†*Oracula Chaldaica
cum scholiis Pselii
et Phethonis.*

βίη λιπόντων σῶμα
ψυχὰὶ καθαρώταται
*Vi corpus relin-
quentium animæ
purissimæ.*

composition; we live with death, and die not in a moment. How many pulses made up the life of *Methuselah*, were work for *Archimedes*: Common Counters sum up the life of *Moses* his name.* Our dayes become considerable like petty sums by minute accumulations; where numerous fractions make up but small round numbers; and our dayes of a span long make not one little finger.†

If the nearnesse of our last necessity, brought a nearer conformity unto it, there were a happinesse in hoary hairs, and no calamity in half senses. But the long habit of living indisposeth us for dying, when Avarice makes us the sport of death, when *David* grew politickly cruel, and *Solomon* could hardly be said to be the wisest of men. But many are too early old, and before the date of age. Adversity stretcheth our dayes, misery makes *Alcmena's* nights,‡ and time hath no wings unto it. But the most tedious being is that which can unwish it self, content to be nothing, or never to have been, which was beyond the mal-content of *Job*, who cursed not the day of his life, but his nativity, content to have so far been, as to have a title to future being, although he had lived here but in an hidden state of life, and as it were an abortion.

What Song the *Syrens* sang, or what name *Achilles* assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions,§ are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these Ossuaries entered the famous Nations of the dead,|| and slept with Princes and Counsellors, might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietaries of

*In the Psalme of *Moses*.

†According to the ancient *Arithmetick* of the hand wherein the little finger of the right hand contracted, signified an hundred.

Pierus in *Hieroglyph*.

‡One night as long as three.

§The puzzling questions of *Tiberius* unto *Grammarians* *Marcel. Donatus* in *Suet*.

||Κλυτὰ ἔθνεα νεκρῶν.

these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above Antiquarism, not to be resolved by man, nor easily perhaps by spirits, except we consult the Provincial Guardians, or tutelary observers. Had they made as good provisions for their names, as they have done for their Reliques, they had not so grossly erred in the art of perpetuation. But to subsist in bones, and be but Pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration. Vain ashes, which in the oblivion of names, persons, times, and sexes, have found unto themselves a fruitlesse continuation, and onely arise unto late posterity, as Emblemes of mortal vanities, antidotes against pride, vainglory, and madding vices. Pagan vain-glories, which thought the world might last for ever, had encouragement for ambition, and finding no *Atropos* unto the immortality of their names, were never damp't with the necessity of oblivion. Even old ambitions had the advantage of ours, in the attempts of their vainglories, who acting early, and before the probable Meridian of time, have by this time found great accomplishment of their designs, whereby the ancient Heroes have already outlasted their Monuments and Mechanical preservations. But in this latter Scene of time we cannot expect such Mummies unto our memories, when ambition may fear the Prophecy of *Elias*,* and *Charles* the first can never hope to live within two *Methuselah's* of *Hector*.†

**That the world may last but six thousand years.*

†*Hector's fame lasting above two lives of Methuselah, before that famous Prince was extant.*

And therefore restlesse inquietude for the diuturnity of our memories unto present considerations, seemes a vanity almost out of date, and superannuated piece of folly. We

cannot hope to live so long in our names, as some have done in their persons; one face of *Janus* holds no proportion to the other. 'T is too late to be ambitious. The great mutations of the world are acted, or time may be too short for our designs. To extend our memories by Monuments, whose death we daily pray for, and whose duration we cannot hope, without injury to our expectations, in the advent of the last day, were a contradiction to our beliefs. We whose generations are ordained in this setting part of time, are providentially taken off from such imaginations. And being necessitated to eye the remaining particle of futurity, are naturally constituted unto thoughts of the next world, and cannot excusably decline the consideration of that duration, which maketh Pyramids pillars of snow, and all that's past a moment.

Circles and right lines limit and close all bodies, and the mortal right-lined-circle * must conclude and shut up all. There is no antidote against the Opium of time, which temporally considereth all things; our fathers finde their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell how we may be buried in our Survivors. Grave-stones tell truth scarce forty years: † Generations passe while some trees stand, and old Families last not three Oakes. To be read by bare inscriptions like many in *Gruter*, ‡ to hope for Eternity by *Ænigmatical Epithetes*, or first letters of our names, to be studied by Antiquaries, who we were, and have new Names given us like many of the Mummies, are cold consolations unto the Students of perpetuity, even by everlasting Languages.

*The character of death.

†Old ones being taken up, and other bodies laid under them.

‡Gruteri Inscriptiones Antiquæ.

**Cuperem notum esse
quod sim, non opto ut
sciatur qualis sim.—
Card. in vita propria.*

To be content that times to come should only know there was such a man, not caring whether they knew more of him, was a frigid ambition in *Cardan*,* disparaging his horoscopal inclination and judgement of himself, who cares to subsist like *Hippocrates*' Patients, or *Achilles*' horses in *Homer*, under naked nominations, without deserts and noble acts, which are the balsame of our memories, the Entelechia and soul of our subsistencies. To be namelesse in worthy deeds exceeds an infamous history. The *Canaanitish* woman lives more happily without a name, than *Herodias* with one. And who had not rather have been the good thief, then *Pilate*?

But the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. Who can but pity the founder of the Pyramids? *Herostratus* lives that burnt the Temple of *Diana*, he is almost lost that built it; time hath spared the Epitaph of *Adrian*'s horse, confounded that of himselfe. In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equal durations; and *Thersites* is like to live as long as *Agamemnon*. Without the favour of the everlasting Register, who knows whether the best of men be known? or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot, then any that stand remembred in the known account of time? the first man had been as unknown as the last, and *Methuselah*'s long life had been his only Chronicle.

Oblivion is not to be hired: the greater part must be con-

tent to be as though they had not been, to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man. Twenty seven names make up the first story, and the recorded names ever since contain not one living Century. The number of the dead long exceedeth all that shall live. The night of time far surpasseth the day, and who knows when was the *Æquinox*? Every houre addes unto that current *Arithmetique*, which scarce stands one moment. And since death must be the *Lucina* of life, and even Pagans could doubt whether thus to live were to die; since our longest Sun sets at right descensions, and makes but winter arches, and therefore it cannot be long before we lie down in darknesse, and have our light in ashes; since the brother of death daily haunts us with dying mementos, and time that grows old it self, bids us hope no long duration; diuturnity is a dream and folly of expectation.

Darknesse and light divide the course of time, and oblivion shares with memory a great part even of our living being; we slightly remember our felicities, and the smartest strokes of affliction leave but short smart upon us. Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows destroy us or themselves. To weep into stones are fables. Afflictions induce callosities, miseries are slippery, or fall like snow upon us, which notwithstanding is no stupidity. To be ignorant of evils to come, and forgetful of evils past, is merciful provision in nature, whereby we digest the mixture of our few and evil dayes, and our delivered senses not relapsing into cutting remembrances, our sorrows are not kept raw by

the edge of repetitions. A great part of Antiquity contented their hopes of subsistency with a transmigration of their souls. A good way to continue their memories, while having the advantage of plural successions, they could not but act something remarkable in such variety of beings, and enjoying the fame of their passed selves, make accumulation of glory unto their last durations. Others rather than be lost in the uncomfortable night of nothing, were content to recede into the common being, and make one particle of the publick soul of all things, which was no more then to return into their unknown and divine Original again. *Ægyptian* ingenuity was more unsatisfied, contriving their bodies in sweet consistencies, to attend the return of their souls. But all was vanity,* feeding the winde, and folly. The *Ægyptian* Mummies, which *Cambyses* or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth. Mummie is become Merchandise, *Mizraim* cures wounds, and *Pharaoh* is sold for balsames.

**Omnia vanitas et
pastio venti, νομὴ
ἀνέμου καὶ βόσκησις,
ut olim Aquila et Sym-
machus. V. Drus.
Eccles.*

In vain do individuals hope for immortality, or any patent from oblivion, in preservations below the moon: men have been deceived even in their flatteries above the Sun, and studied conceits to perpetuate their names in heaven. The various Cosmography of that part hath already varied the names of contrived constellations; *Nimrod* is lost in *Orion*, and *Osyris* in the Dogge-star. While we look for incorruption in the heavens, we finde they are but like the Earth, durable in their main bodies, alterable in their parts; whereof beside Comets and new Stars, perspectives begin to tell

tales. And the spots that wander about the Sun, with *Phaeton's* favour, would make clear conviction.

There is nothing strictly immortal, but immortality; whatever hath no beginning may be confident of no end. All others have a dependent being, and within the reach of destruction, which is the peculiar of that necessary essence that cannot destroy it self; and the highest strain of omnipotency to be so powerfully constituted, as not to suffer even from the power of it self. But the sufficiency of Christian immortality frustrates all earthly glory, and the quality of either state after death makes a folly of posthumous memory. God who can onely destroy our souls, and hath assured our resurrection, either of our bodies or names hath directly promised no duration. Wherein there is so much of chance that the boldest expectants have found unhappy frustration; and to hold long subsistence, seems but a scape in oblivion. But man is a noble Animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing Nativities and Deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting Ceremonies of bravery, in the infamy of his nature.

Life is a pure flame, and we live by an invisible Sun within us. A small fire sufficeth for life, great flames seemed too little after death, while men vainly affected precious pyres, and burn like *Sardanapalus*, but the wisdom of funeral Laws found the folly of prodigal blazes, and reduced undoing fires, unto the rule of sober obsequies, wherein few could be so mean as not to provide wood, pitch, a mourner, and an Urne.

Five Languages secured not the Epitaph of *Gordianus*; the man of God lives longer without a Tomb then any by one, invisibly interred by Angels, and adjudged to obscurity, though not without some marks directing humane discovery. *Enoch* and *Elias* without either tomb or burial, in an anomalous state of being, are the great examples of perpetuity, in their long and living memory; in strict account being still on this side death, and having a late part yet to act upon this stay of earth. If in the decretory term of the world we shall not all die but be changed, according to received translation, the last day will make but few graves; at least quick Resurrections will anticipate lasting Sepultures; some graves will be opened before they are quite closed, and *Lazarus* be no wonder. When many that feared to die shall groan that they can die but once, the dismal state is the second and living death, when life puts despair on the damned, when men shall wish the coverings of Mountains, not of Monuments, and annihilation shall be courted.

While some have studied Monuments, others have studiously declined them: and some have been so vainly boisterous, that they durst not acknowledge their Graves; wherein *Alaricus* seems most subtle,* who had a River turned to hide his bones at the bottome. Even *Sylla* that thought himself safe in his Urne, could not prevent revenging tongues, and stones thrown at his Monument. Happy are they whom privacy makes innocent, who deal so with

**Jornandes de rebus
Geticis.*

men in this world, that they are not afraid to meet them in the next, who, when they die, make no commotion among the dead, and are not toucht with that poetical taunt of *Isaiah*.*

* *Isa. xiv, 16, etc.*

Pyramids, Arches, Obelisks, were but the irregularities of vainglory, and wilde enormities of ancient magnanimity. But the most magnanimous resolution rests in the Christian Religion, which trampleth upon pride, and sits on the neck of ambition, humbly pursuing that infallible perpetuity, unto which all others must diminish their diameters and be poorly seen in Angles of contingency.†

† *Angulus contingentia,*
the least of Angles.

Pious spirits who passe their dayes in raptures of futurity, made little more of this world, then the world that was before it, while they lay obscure in the Chaos of preordination, and night of their fore-beings. And if any have been so happy as truely to understand Christian annihilation, extasis, exolution, liquefaction, transformation, the kisse of the Spouse, gustation of God, and ingression into the divine shadow, they have already had an handsome anticipation of heaven; the glory of the world is surely over, and the earth in ashes unto them.

To subsist in lasting Monuments, to live in their productions, to exist in their names, and prædicament of Chymæras, was large satisfaction unto old expectations and made one part of their Elysiums. But all this is nothing in the Metaphysicks of true belief. To live indeed is to be again our selves, which being not onely an hope but

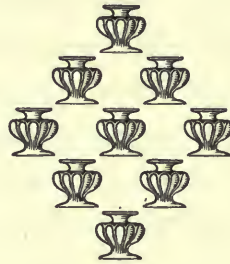
**In Paris where bodies
soon consume.*

†*A stately Mausoleum
or sepulchral pyle built
by Adrianus in Rome,
where now standeth the
Castle of St. Angelo.*

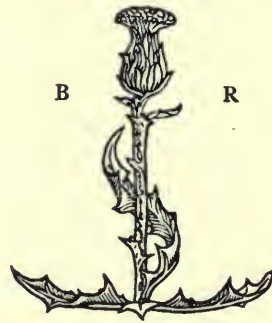
an evidence in noble believers, 't is all one to lie in *St. Innocents** Church-yard, as in the Sands of *Ægypt*: ready to be any thing, in the extasie of being ever, and as content with six foot as the Moles of *Adrianus*.†

—*Tabesne cadavera solvat
An rogos haud refert.*—

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